651 The king also has the right to a certain percentage of the heads of game (gusogongera). In the past the Mwami also collected a certain number of cows [103] (iminyago) out of those acquired during wartime raids.

Some of the natives are subject only to the ingabo. This is the case of the artisans, hunters, and farmers who provide the king and the Court with bows, arrows, pruning knives, mats, skins, drums, honey, hydromel, etc.

The Batwa are subject to no actual fiscal obligation to the king and chiefs. Potters must only furnish pots and pitchers to the court and provide the Mwami, his wife, and the Umugabekazi with ingobyi. They are also the executors of the king's great undertakings. The hunters' payments consist of ivory, skins, and fragrant wood.

687 Punitive sanctions are provided in the case of nonexecution of these obligations. The hill and provincial chiefs as well as the king have the Bahutu cudgeled and take the cows away from the Batutsi. In the past, the Mwami would even sometimes have the Batwa executioners cut off the ears (kubiha) of the Bahutu who are delinquent in tax payment.

651 A toll (ihoro) is paid by those who cross any water. To cross
486 a larger river such as the Nyawarongo, the tax is paid to the provincial chief who refunds some of it to the boatmen.

Merchants must also pay a toll to the chief whose territory they cross. [104]

14. Secret Societies

575 The sect known as the Nyabingi (or Biheko) has its origin in
563 the name of the Queen of Ndorwa who was killed by the warriors of
668 Mwami Rwabugiri, resulting in a marked hostility to the Batutsi and the royal authority on the part of the Queen's descendants. Also, these people have become Bahutu by their marriages with commoners. These are sufficient reasons for the "Baheko" [sic] to be considered rescuers by the Bahutu, especially in the north of Ruanda where the resistance, if not the hostility, to the Batutsi and their administration is much stronger than in the rest of the country.

From Ndorwa where it originated, the sect spread out to Buberuka, Mulera, Bugoyi, and even to Buganza and Bwanachyambwe.

682 obviously to be an important person, such as an umugaragu of the Mwami. In carrying out the sentence, the murderer had to give the victim's parents many heads of cattle, thirty or sometimes even more.

If a person lost his life in a fire started by a malicious person, the guilty party (or one of his family) was punished by having his head cut off by a member of the victim's family.

689 The abalozi (sorcerers) accused of having caused the death of a man by their evil spells were also punished by the death penalty.

696 If the murderer took refuge in the rugo of a chief, he found there inviolable sanctuary. It would have been a lack of respect to authority to kill a man at the chief's home and the administrators of justice might have been put to death for doing so. In such a case the chief himself brought the murderer before the Mwami.

[113] 6. Special Cases

● 687 Exceptionally serious cases had to be submitted to the Mwami. The crime of lese majesty brought with it, in the recent past, the death penalty to the perpetrator. The Batwa executioners were charged with carrying out the sentence by strangling (guhotora), spearing (gutera inchumu), cudgeling (gukubita inkoni), or killing with an axe (gukubita intorezo). The criminal could also be thrown into a pit located in Bugessera (near Nyanza) after having been strangled (1), or else he was blinded with a hot iron (2).

1. Abanyiginya accused of having plotted against the Mwami were punished in this way.

2. A chief of the neighborhood of Issave called Kayijuka had his eyes burned out for having shown Nyirayuhi, mother of King Musinga, to a missionary. At this time the custom of the country did not allow noble women to be seen by foreigners.

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take secret, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

662 The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
63 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are correspondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *mutimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

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ibgami, "at the king's." In speaking of the ancient royal residences, they use the noun umurwa, plural imirwa, or else ikigabiro, plural ibigabiro. As for the term umuhango (plural imihango), it signifies "mores, customs, traditions," hence the name Abanyamihango given to the "keepers of the customs."

[642] We remind the reader that the native government is an absolute and hereditary monarchy.

643 The sovereign is master of the land and all it contains; he deals with the life and goods of his subjects as he pleases. Until recently his power knew no bounds of any sort and was wholly dependent upon [776] his whims or good will. Imana (God) was no more powerful than he. [687] Any attempt to draw a comparison between the two was formerly regarded as a crime of high treason. God and the King could, at best, be one and the same person.

641 The subjects, therefore, tended to be regarded as things from which to draw as much pleasure and well-being as possible.

Their own worth and usefulness were assessed and measured only with reference to the king. Let us add that the welfare of the kingdom, although it was not disregarded, could only come second in the thoughts of the king. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, 644 the dignitaries of the realm to whom the king assigned the government of the provinces were compelled to spend most of their time at court. The Hamitic princes were very eager to keep the nobility close to them. They were always on the alert and daily surveyed the lords and courtiers who surrounded them (2). The latter belong /349/ almost

2. From Saint Simon we learn that the situation was the same under Louis XIV. "It is a demerit

644 the Banyarwanda also practice dismemberment, otherwise known as
681 the "torment of the hundred wounds."
696 First the flesh of the face, arms, calves, back, etc. are cut up in order to make the victim suffer as long as possible. This refinement of cruelty is carried out mainly in vendettas (guhora).

Impalement is reserved for cattle thieves. There is mention of an unfortunate man whose stake threatened to come out through his side. The operation was begun all over again..., but the patient /377/ died long before it was concluded. The most common torture for persons of medium rank consisted in cutting off their hands and feet and leaving them thus on the spot, where they died of cold if the hyenas did not devour them first. Sometimes death lingered for two or three days because the blood had coagulated and the hemorrhage had stopped.

Some of those unfortunate victims would bellow their torment and thirst, dragging themselves wretchedly on knees and elbows and vainly attempting to come near the huts and implore the pity of human beings. Their doleful cries were heard throughout the night.

[687] Fear suppressed pity, for the slightest act of compassion would have been regarded as high treason. Any show of pity or mercy was punishable by death. Execution by club, spear, or billhook blows and the cutting of the carotid artery were regarded as the mildest and quickest methods for victims entitled to a certain consideration. This category included elders, women, former favorites, and certain court employees. Important personages whom one did not wish to "do away with" (gusonga) were often sentenced to lose their eyes.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, hardly a week went by at the capital without a bloody execution. If several weeks elapsed without one, the fact seemed so extraordinary that the following expression was repeated everywhere, "Peace (or calm) reigns at the capital" (N' ubuhoro ibgami).

644 Sorcery was the cause of condemnation most frequently in-
683 voked. When people had an enemy and wished for revenge or when they coveted a rich man's possessions and wealth, no great effort of the imagination /378/ was needed on their part to prove the culpability of the man whose death they desired. When a man was led before

643 along the road, to the sanctimonious applause of his entourage. Once
661 he even tried his spear against one of his chief lieutenants. The latter had the audacity to evade the blow, pick up the weapon, and hurl it back at him with equal skill. The king managed to duck and showed no displeasure, at least on that day. He even congratulated the man for his boldness and courage and said that he was a "man" (umugabo).

This scene was enacted more than once during the same reign. The unfortunate men who served as targets to the spirited monarch, however, lacked sufficient audacity, and especially good fortune, to get away... with such amiable words.

Under the reign of the present monarch, Yuhi IV Musinga,
● [687] from the time of his accession to the throne and prior to European penetration, the famous Ndamutsa drum often heralded one or several executions. Aside from the crime of sorcery it was enough to be denounced, rightly or wrongly, as having spoken poorly of the king and queen mother. Such crimes were punished on short order and briskly.

Public rumor has it that the young king tried his first gun shot on a madman. He hit him point blank.

The courtiers who were present at this murder scene emitted frenzied bravos to applaud the supreme skill of His Majesty.

[177] European influence and supervision alone managed to bring to an end this state of affairs and this kind of behavior, which in the natives' way of thought only served to accentuate the majesty and power of the king. /381/ It does not follow that this change made the pagan Blacks any happier, for they were awed by the ancient customs and the bloody displays of brute force.

671 In principle, justice was the king's justice, since as the saying goes, "the king is the law." For the sake of truthfulness, however, it must be added that there is a set of laws in existence. It is certainly not a complete code, but it nevertheless includes a series of laws and practices adding up to a veritable common law which, had it been rigorously applied, would have avoided many an extortion and cruelty. Gradually, over the centuries, a special procedure had been established for litigations bearing on property rights, inheritance rights, matrimonial rights and bride price, physical damage such as

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Sentashonga, the victim's cousin, was granted permission that evening to have the corpse of his relative buried.

The elders and former habitués of the court do not lack for narratives of this kind, which they relate like any other tale without seeming overly shocked by them. Such is the environment, such are the mores and attitudes. /485/

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"The king is the master," they say. "He does as he pleases. The decisions he makes cannot be contested. He is the supreme judge. One can only obey and assent." The victims' relatives were sometimes the first to come and greet him, feigning total impassiveness, forced as they were to drive back to the bottom of their hearts the bitter pain which they could not but feel.

Complaints, wails, and recriminations could only have stirred up the anger of the king and given rise to new slaughters.

While looking after his own safety, every person also had to keep in mind that of his people /relatives and friends/. The latter, indeed, might be held responsible for the deeds and actions, no matter how harmless, of any of their fellow members. The extermination of a whole family formerly weighed very little on the scale of royal justice.

So as not to provoke trouble which might prove fatal, therefore, they put a good face on misfortune. These executed, however innocent they might have been, were claimed in loud voices to have been cursed men (ibichibga) or rebels. To shed tears or express one's sorrow were crimes of high treason. "A mere whim of the master was sufficient to send a person to punishment. What won't one do to avoid so cruel a fate?" This statement made by a court favorite of the previous reign /avant-règne/ reveals a great deal about the mores of the time. "If the king happened to sprain his foot," added the same man, "to knock against some obstacle or pebble, it was not a good idea to meet with him at that moment."

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In his anger the monarch might accuse anyone of having bewitched him, and wreak then and there a signal vengeance.

Professional executioners were not always used for this purpose. The king might call upon any member of his retinue to carry out the task. The person had to comply, no matter how revolted he might

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233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/ their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for

234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as
272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following

[524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of
[539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the

[687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow

237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

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Elephant's tusk	up to 100 goats.
Goat	two to four hoes.
Sheep	two to three hoes.
Young bull	eight to eleven hoes.
Calf	two to five hoes.
Young cow	15 to 20 goats or two bulls: one the same size as the cow, the other somewhat larger.

439 Trade. In considering trade in Ruanda we must make a sharp distinction between trade in hides and other forms of trading.

In the cattle-rich lands of the African interior the trade in hides takes on the character of pure export, indeed of piracy. Imported [162] European and Indian cotton goods, glass beads, brass and copper wire, and other consumer goods are paid for in hides.

The government has forbidden traders to cross the borders of Ruanda and Urundi because it was afraid that livestock might be decimated due to the relatively high prices of skins. Smugglers [687] who were caught had to forfeit their wares and, temporarily, their freedom, but despite the risk, native traders, lured by the great profits, came from Karagwe to Kissaka to buy skins. These they sold to Indian shopkeepers in Kafuro.

South of Lake Mohasi I met a trading caravan of ten men. They drove a few cows and goats, and on their heads they carried rolls of hides. They carried a passport from Bukoba to Kafuro and continued their journey at their own risk. They talked a great deal about the high prices they paid for the livestock, in order to clear themselves of any suspicion that they had stolen them. They said they had paid ten doti Amerikani for one bull and one doti for a goat.

Near the Nsasa Mission there is a Muganda trader who has been there so long that he is a permanent resident.

Smuggling must be rather extensive, since all the Batutsi were dressed in cotton. It is not probable that this material came primarily from the military and trading stations on Lake Kivu (Kisenyi and Ischangi).

643 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For
656 example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by
372 Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire
687 went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they
778 had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king.
643 After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along
[775] with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be
578 the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside-in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well
551 change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his
644 mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this
644 weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

651 and not infrequently open battles whenever collection takes place.
661 On the way to Mulera, at Kwa Rutagungira, I saw several wounded Batutsi who had to pay for their zeal as officials with holes in their hides. The business efficiency of the tax collectors is well characterized if we note their habit of substituting some of their poorer stock for the better cows that are delivered as the king's taxes. In view of its chronic character, this misuse and plunder must be regarded as a form of official remuneration.

651 We must emphasize the fact that in Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are linked to the community, the people, and not to the land they cultivate. That is why the outsider who has settled on alien soil with the approval of the residents does not participate in community taxes. He continues to pay the taxes of his own clan, and only if he is adopted by the resident clan does he pay taxes where he has settled.

651 178 This principle of family tax becomes complicated the moment pacification makes possible the disruption of clans which under the most primitive conditions have been held together by blood revenge. I saw the consequences of this complication of social conditions in Mulera in the form of a punitive expedition which reduced to ashes the settlement on Mount Kisseke. A few outsiders had bought with gifts permission to settle on Kisseke from the established residents. A few weeks after they were settled, some Batutsi arrived who had the right to collect taxes from the community of new settlers but who were complete strangers to the old established population. The new settlers
● [687] promised the old ones a bull, and the latter drove off the Batutsi with weapons, killing a few and wounding several. A punitive expedition of government troops, undertaken because of Musinga's complaint, was the sequel.

651 491 The ferry toll is a special tax that affects traders particularly. It is collected by batware who are stationed at the ferries and whose people run the boats. The toll is very high. For a traveler with his pack, it is ten large beads, that is to say, a third of a day's wages. Twenty men with a herd of goats paid a piece of cloth (nguo).

[275] The batware who collect the ferry toll must also keep watch over the traffic. At the border ferries, for example, on

701 expeditionary force against Bassebia, a subchief of Ngurube, the Mutwa from Ndorwa. As a rule, the general pays with his life [687] for a military failure.

Count Von Götzen (2) mentions that men set out for war

2. Götzen, G. A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 166.

accompanied by their wives, but the women do not take part in the fighting.

726 791 In case of war there must always be a Muhenyi among the troops. He himself is invulnerable, and it is his duty to vilify the enemy and render their weapons harmless. A division accompanied by a Muhenyi [276] must always be victorious. This belief, however, is far too often shattered by the facts. The expedition against Bassebia was defeated, and the Muhenyi who accompanied the column lost his life. This unexpected outcome was explained by the fact that the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, had even greater magicians at his command. The "invulnerable" Bahenyi are still very much feared by everyone and are permitted to commit acts of violence which would not be tolerated for other persons.

727 The trophies brought back to the king from campaigns consist of the heads and genitals of the slain enemies. On the last unsuccessful expedition against the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, no Batwa heads or genitals were captured. In order to cover up [661] their failure and not be ridiculed because they had no trophies, the returning warriors killed a few peaceful farmers who had to sacrifice their heads and genitals to glorify the entrance of the troops into the capital.

In view of the kind of trophies taken, the warriors try to kill their opponents and not take any prisoners. This is probably also tied in with the social organization which does not give rise to a need for slave labor.

695 with this and to secure witnesses who are not dependent on him.

695 431 A witness may refuse to testify. In order to dissuade him from making use of this right, he is given presents by the one who wishes him to testify.

Gifts to witnesses are no secret. They are regarded as something quite natural, a sort of compensation for the unpleasantness that may result from testifying. That is why one often hears of a witness delaying his testimony for a few days in order to give people a chance to bring him presents or saying that he will testify after he has received his nzoga. In this case nzoga does not mean merely beer, but all kinds of presents, such as goats, hoes, or even cows, depending on the importance of the case.

695 ●687 In spite of the custom of giving presents to witnesses, false testimony is punishable. Thus, it is said that Lwabugiri Kigeri, for example, who was strict but just, simply had false witnesses killed.

695 [284] Court procedure in Ruanda allows the accused and the witness to swear oaths. At trials the following form of oath is used. The person taking the oath sticks his spear into the ground and says: "May this spear kill me if I did this." This way of taking an oath is called kuchulika ichuma. This form of oath is feared. [687] Perjury was punished with death in Lwabugiri's time.

In this connection we must also mention the forms of allegation which are used, for example, when witnesses testify. The one corresponding to the form of oath given above consists of pointing to one's spear and saying, "dakolitera Musinga." This brief statement means "if that is not true, I shall pierce the king with this spear." Connected to this is another form: "bandoga Musinga (I shall poison Musinga if this is not true)." This form is also used if one wishes to assure the king that what one has said is true. Thus, for example, Musinga asked a man whether he had seen Kabare, "wabonye Kabare?" The man answered in the affirmative, "yee." The king did not believe it and wanted to make sure, "nukuli." The man thereupon answered, "bandoga Musinga," and the matter was settled. If one doubts the truth of a person's statement, he may also say, "lahira (swear)." The person then answers, "bandoga Musinga."